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## The Obvious Duty

The recent reports of an attack upon the American Legation at Tabriz serve to call attention again to a situation which must be the source of real regret for thoughtful Americans, viz.: that we are still at peace with two nations who are at war with our allies and whose acts have been as great offenses against the principles which we are championing in this war as those of the nations with whom we are actually engaged in hostilities. It is difficult to understand why we have remained at peace with Bulgaria and Turkey during the period of months in which both Bulgaria and Turkey have struck at our allies on the firing line and have committed atrocities beyond palliation upon civil populations within their power.

The case of Bulgaria is simple. Bulgaria entered the present war solely for the purpose of aggrandizement. Bulgaria was in the market for purchase. Her military resources were sold out to the German bidder. The price was money and territory belonging to her neighbors. But even before the present war Bulgaria precipitated the Second Balkan struggle by a crime more indefensible than the German invasion of Belgium.

To-day Bulgaria occupies territory of Serbia and of Greece. She has subjected the civil populations of conquered regions to untold brutality. Her purposes are Prussian. She is seeking to obtain for herself in the Balkans precisely the position Prussia obtained in Germany. She is using the same methods, with the same complete defiance of all moral law.

No nation of all which are fighting has made a more gallant defense than Serbia. As long as the United States fails to declare war upon Bulgaria she contributes to Bulgarian supremacy in the Balkans. She does wrong to the gallant Serb people, who have continued a hopeless fight for liberty and independence. We do violence to our stated championship of the small nation when we apply the principle in Western Europe and ignore it in Eastern Europe.

It is simple to understand why the United States has not declared war upon Bulgaria. Owing to the influence of Robert College there has been an active pro-Bulgar propaganda in this country, cleverly utilized by the Bulgarian Minister. Every sort of influence has been exerted in Washington, precisely as it was exerted on behalf of Bulgaria in London in the critical months of 1915, when Bulgaria was getting ready to strike Serbia in the back and Bulgarian agents had the ear of Sir Edward Grey and Sazonoff and persuaded the Allies to leave Serbia defenceless against the premeditated Bulgar attack.

As for Turkey, there is no argument that one can think of that can seriously be presented against our declaring war promptly upon the authors of the Armenian massacres—upon that nation whose offenses, not alone in the present war but over the past centuries, should have doomed the Ottoman Empire long ago, and now must carry its death sentence.

A declaration of war upon Bulgaria and Turkey by the United States would have a profound effect all through the Near East. In Sofia, in Constantinople, it would be a final evidence to the Greek and the Serb people that this great country stands with all the Allies fighting Germany, big and little, and means to champion the small peoples in the Balkans south of the Danube as well as in Western Europe.

We are not in this war now with a limited liability. We have become partners in a great struggle, which, if it is to have permanent value, must bring about a reorganization east and west, north and south, based on principles of right and justice and liberty. It is a matter of surprise in Rome, in Paris and in London that Washington is to-day paralyzed by precisely the same intrigues which held sway in Allied capitals two years ago, to the very great injury of the Allied cause in Europe. The enemies of our allies are our enemies, because they are the foes of the principles for which we and our allies are fighting.

No indictment of Germany can be more severe than that of Bulgaria, which has become a servile imitator of all that is worst in German methods while continuing to protest to American ears a fidelity to American principles taught in Robert College. Bulgaria is the plague spot of the Balkans, and weak sentimentality and mistaken sympathy are contributing to the injury of the gallant Serb and the weakening of the Veni-

zelos government, which is loyal to our allies.

There is at the present time before Congress a resolution calling for a declaration of war upon Turkey and Bulgaria. Power and responsibility rest with Congress, and this is an occasion where Congress can well afford to lead rather than follow. We ought to stand four-square with all our allies against all the enemies of the ideas and the ideals which are at stake. Turkish troops may to-morrow appear on the firing line facing our own soldiers in France. Bulgaria, even more than Turkey, is the foe of Western ideas at this moment, and unless Bulgaria is beaten and deprived of those territorial gains which she has made by applying German methods and German morals there will be no proper settlement in the Balkans and no removal of that ulcer out of which developed the present conflict. We should be at war with Bulgaria and Turkey. They are at war with us and with our allies.

## A Pig in a Bag

It is impossible not to feel a great, almost an overwhelming, sympathy for the West Side Taxpayers' Association. Confronted in the last election with the choice between Mayor Mitchell, "whose administration we believe had been more or less socialistic, the yearly appropriation for purely social service having increased \$30,000,000 in the nine years in which he and his associates were in control," and Judge Hyman, its members hesitatingly supported the latter. To be sure, they tell His Honor, "we did not know you, we had no opportunity to form a correct opinion of you, but we believed that the organization which nominated you had been, since its inception, the friend of the business man and the property owner."

Now these unfortunate individuals find that, "instead of being a conservative, you have advocated the most extreme radicalism." Indeed, "we believe you have strongly and openly supported the Bolshevik theory that the community owes everything to the individual and that government should be paternalistic and control every action of the individual." Moreover, they declare his economy promises have not been carried out; instead, that he has filled city jobs whether they are needed or not. Also they hold him responsible for delay in subway building. The net result is that they answer the Mayor's recent query whether the taxpayers are satisfied with his administration, briefly and emphatically, "We are not."

The man who buys a pig in a bag and on opening the bag finds its contents anything but what he expected is a sorrowful figure. And sorrow naturally breeds sympathy. Yet in this case the sympathy must be directed to the members of this august organization because of their blindness rather than because of the bad selection they made. Taking any candidate on trust invites disappointment, but taking a candidate from Tammany on trust invites disaster.

## Speeding Up the Credit Dollar

Speaking before a convention of credit men at Chicago, Mr. Paul M. Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, chronicles with interest the ever-widening use of trade acceptances and the increasingly liquid character of book accounts resulting therefrom. The trade acceptance has met with the same conservative spirit that the use of bankers' acceptances encountered but a very few years ago. But this is giving way almost everywhere, and the use of the trade acceptance promises to become as general as, for example, it is in England.

Mr. Paul Warburg touches upon a new and interesting point when he discusses the increasing speed of the credit dollar which is one of the results of this wider use, and the effect of this speed upon the general level of prices—that is, if you please, on the daily cost of living. The modern view of money is kinetic. That is to say, it deals with money in motion, passing from hand to hand. The old quantity view of the earlier economists was an almost purely static conception. But it was obvious that a thousand dollars changing hands fifty times a year would do just as much work, i. e., effect the exchange of just as much goods and services, as fifty thousand dollars changing hands but once a year.

It follows from this conception that increased speed, or velocity, as the economists prefer, has just the same effect on prices as increased quantity. If you could abruptly double the rate of turnover of every kind of money in a country you could double the average of prices, just exactly as if you had doubled the quantity of money instead.

The trade acceptance, therefore, meaning an increased velocity of credit, tends likewise toward increased prices. All the more reason, then, why all unnecessary credit should be cut off. Mr. Warburg luminously says:

"The great speed with which new dollar values are being created at this time and the enormous demand of governments for goods render it imperative that we counteract the resulting inflation of prices by setting the brakes upon every unnecessary use of credit or material. Normally these brakes would be applied by enforcing higher interest rates. In view, however, of the necessity of keeping the money market in a condition of sufficient ease to enable the government successfully to carry through its vast financial operations, it would be to the greatest public advantage if contraction of credit could be brought about by voluntary discrimination rather than by the compulsion of higher rates."

There is an additional reason for this, which Mr. Warburg carefully states:

"The rapid increase of deposits and loans of the banks of the country, which we must look forward to as incidental to the unparalleled scope of war expenditures, will create a constantly growing demand for means with which to maintain

the corresponding increase in the reserve balances required by law."

As yet both deposits and loans have shown no very sharp expansion since our entry into the war. If, as Mr. Warburg says, we must now look forward to a rapid increase, as "incidental to the unparalleled scope of our war expenditures," we have a situation which may well give our financiers concern. Production, at least in the major lines, has been at a practical maximum for at least two years. We are at somewhere near 100 per cent present capacity. Unless that capacity can be considerably enlarged a heavy increase in currency or credits must inevitably entail a still more drastic rise in prices. And greater velocity means the same thing.

## The Slavic Legion

The Slavic Legion is a happy solution of many problems. It enables the United States to avoid the impropriety of drafting enemy aliens for service against their own governments. We should put no alien enemy into uniform by compulsion.

But there are hundreds of thousands of Austro-Hungarian subjects here who are Austro-Hungarian subjects only in name. They have every reason to hate the political system under which they have been ground down by the German and the Magyar. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose from the destruction of the Dual Monarchy.

In all but technical allegiance they are already allies and not enemies. It is most desirable therefore to give them an opportunity to fight for the liberation of the Slav peoples from the Austrian and Hungarian yoke. In our interest and their own they ought to be encouraged to volunteer to fight their own battle, whether under our colors or under the colors of France or Italy. There is already a South Slavic and Czech Legion in the Italian army. There is also a Polish Legion in France.

The South Slavs, Czechs-Slovenes and Austrian Poles in the United States can, under the Hitchcock amendment, qualify legitimately for military service against the Hapsburg monarchy. They are to offer their services, declare their renunciation of Austro-Hungarian sovereignty and be incorporated into special units and a special military body. The United States is to equip, train and support them. But they are to remain a separate organization, with a racial and nationalistic character of its own, though protected under the laws of war by an association with the army of the United States.

It is estimated that from 300,000 to 500,000 Slavs can be recruited for this semi-autonomous army. Here is a welcome addition to our man power. If we were to join in military intervention in Siberia, where a Czech-Slovak army of former prisoners of war is now doing excellent service for the Allies, our Slavs would be especially available for such an expedition.

The battle for Slavic liberation in Austria-Hungary is one that can be fought on any front. Liberation will come only when the Central Alliance is crushed. The struggle is the same and for the same purposes—whether it is conducted in France, in Italy, in the Balkans, in Siberia, in Palestine or in Mesopotamia.

We were a long time getting to the point of declaring war on Austria-Hungary. But the days of hesitation passed. We are now in a fight to the death against Hapsburg tyranny as well as against Prussian absolutism. The creation here of an Austro-Hungarian Slavic Legion would be a final notice to Vienna that we have adopted Slav liberation as one of our essential war aims.

## The Soldier's Morals

Everybody feels competent to lay down a moral code for the soldier, especially the stay-at-home who has no real notion of what war is like. To such minds the problem is not a problem at all; repression is the whole answer. Tell the soldier what he must not do and see that he doesn't do it is the programme.

It is refreshing to find Professor Hocking, in "The Yale Review," taking a broader and saner view. Repression is possible and natural when the soldier is hard at work drilling or in the trenches. Dissipation is an impossibility at such times. But the soldier on leave is another matter. He is in no mood for the "apparatus of introductions and the other proprieties which hedge women about."

"His mind is fatigued with obligations; his relief consists largely in being irresponsible. He is in a frame of mind for what William James has called a moral holiday. We can sympathize with him; without any such excuse as his, most of us feel the need for an occasional moral holiday."

There are precious few men or women, of however strict a code, who have not experienced these moments when their thoughts, at any rate, went wandering. We need only to compare our slender temptations which occasioned this passing desire with the lot of the soldier to realize the gravity of his problem and the stupidity of treating him as a simple problem in repression. It is admirable to preach our American code and urge our men to uphold it wherever they go, but we shall be asking the impossible and working downright injury unless we supplement our words with constructive measures which give the soldier some equivalent for home life and an opportunity for pleasure that will not coarsen or degrade him.

Our whole amusement programme is material of this kind and admirable in character. The point that Professor Hocking makes is that women can and should play a far larger part in this work than they have. What is wanted, he suggests, is "the woman who has unlimited good fellowship, together with unlimited good sense and poise, a type of woman in which America is peculiarly

rich, though the official difficulties of excluding the undesirables, the faddists and the excitable are very great." That states both the possible benefit and the obvious difficulties of this field of work.

The general point is, we think, well taken. American ideals are not enough. They should be personified in American women; the more the better. Given this atmosphere, the soldier's "moral holiday" would naturally take a very different course from what it would find in an alien life that added homesickness and loneliness to the general overturn of normal conditions.

## Aircraft Discoveries

By Theodore M. Knappen

WASHINGTON, June 21.—One can acquire a ponderable reputation in aircraft matters these days by shaking his head ominously and pronouncing the word "cross-licensing." On cross-licensing, be it known, is based the alleged ring of "plane manufacturers who are going to monopolize the production of planes in the future, and who are supposed to have held up the government in the making of 'planes for war. It is the term given to the scheme whereby a concise arrangement for opening up general access to basic airplane patents was arrived at, so that the industry would not be hamstrung by royalty quarrels, extortion and patent litigation.

There may be a surreptitious African in this particular aircraft woodpile, but I can't find him, and I have looked for him in the course of investigations that have taken me a month, two thousand miles of travelling, and have probably made me more familiar with aircraft production than any other layman in America. The facts appear to be perfectly definite and clear. The reader can put his own construction on them.

The basic patents are controlled by the Curtiss and Wright-Martin companies, the former being the Curtiss inventions and the latter those of the Wright brothers. The government didn't want to pay an excess price for royalties, and it did not want airplane construction limited to the two companies and to those they might license by private negotiation.

A clean-cut, general arrangement and understanding seemed to be desirable. So, by government suggestion, an association of airplane manufacturers was formed, membership in which entitled all manufacturers to the use of the primary Curtiss and Wright-Martin patents and secondary patents of other members. The fee is \$1,000, and membership is open to any responsible firm or corporation that desires to make airplanes.

For each machine he makes for the government the manufacturer pays the association \$100, and for each commercial machine \$200. Out of each \$100 of royalty fee now paid in the Wright-Martin company receives \$92.50 and the Curtiss company \$25, the other \$12.50 going to the association for expenses. When the total of the Wright-Martin fees shall have reached \$2,000,000 the Curtiss people will receive the whole of the \$37.50 until their total reaches \$2,000,000. After that no further royalties will be collected.

To the total sums to be paid for royalties the government probably will contribute three-fourths and the public one-fourth. At present there are about twenty members of the association. If access to membership is without prejudice, and it appears that such is the case, the main question is whether the government is paying an excessive royalty.

It might be argued that the patentees should have been content with their profits on manufacture for the government and have licensed other manufacturers doing government work similarly engaged without charge. This would have been a fine piece of patriotism, but it would have been most unusual and was hardly to be expected. Conceding that the patentees were morally as well as legally entitled to some remuneration, is \$100 for each plane too much?

Anyway, it looks to me as if the so-called ring that has resulted from the cross-licensing arrangement is rather an anti-ring.

## The Hearst Within Our Gates

(Issued by The Vigilantes)

### Hearst as Pacifist

On July 27, 1917, long after the President and Congress had declared war in vindication of American rights, Hearst in a signed letter demanded an immediate peace, rather than send "a million of our splendid young Americans every year for a war to be offered up in bloody sacrifice."

Mr. Hearst controls the following publications, with a total average daily circulation of 2,572,885 for the Hearst newspapers, and a total average circulation per issue of 2,281,627 for the Hearst magazines.

Newspapers:  
The New York American  
The New York Evening Journal  
The Chicago Herald and Examiner  
The Chicago American  
The Boston Advertiser  
The Boston American  
The Atlanta Georgian  
The Atlanta American  
The San Francisco Examiner  
The Los Angeles Examiner  
The New York Deutsche Journal (discontinued April 21, 1918)

Magazines:  
The Cosmopolitan  
Good Housekeeping  
Hearst's Bazar  
Hearst's Motor  
Motor Boating  
Puck

## Lincoln, 1918

NOW that a greater war for freedom wakes  
And rolling gunfire through all Europe shakes,  
Behind us still the heart of Lincoln stands.  
The strength is not lost of those mighty hands.

The courage of that brain—for Lincoln still  
Lives in Democracy's unfettered Will!

And they who lust for rule shall find too late  
That way of freedom is the will of fate;

That high above the lies their legions seek  
Towers Democracy's great mountain peak,  
That they seek vainly what may never be—  
Since mankind's destiny is to be free!

HARRY KEMP.

## DISTRACTION!



## Walsh of the War Labor Board

By Ralph Block

WASHINGTON, June 21.—The times have changed; Walsh hasn't. In 1915 it was contrast that made him appear strident, contrast between the life he was scrutinizing and the attitude he bore toward it. As chairman of the President's Industrial Relations Commission he came down on the modern mechanism with a heavy hand, tore at it unsparingly to discover its intention and its objective. But if Walsh's voice was rough, the country's was plaintive and offended. They were quits on that score. Even liberals—who must be differentiated from radicals, it seems—found Walsh too strong a medicine. When the commission automatically ceased to exist Walsh retired from the prints for a time.

He is back now, unchanged. But a different world greets him. Democracy has come to be something more than a phrase.

### At a Long Table

He sat in his office on the eighth floor of the Labor Department office building, in Washington, a few days ago, sat on one side of a long board table, and explained what the War Labor Board wanted to do. As one of the joint chairmen of the board his explanation has the quality of authority.

Walsh talks concisely, definitely, but not with the thin allowance of imagination that betrays so many "concise" men. Instead, his speech has a pleasant amplitude about it, though failing nowhere to hug the line toward his point.

"The theory that generally prevailed before the war," he began, "was that the wages for labor were fixed by supply and demand. As an explanation of economic processes that theory is a sham and a delusion. Many other influences creep in to set aside any possible authority that economic principle might have. In the large industrial centers, where most of the workers are gathered, the wage is fixed by the great employers. For instance, in Chicago it is fixed by the great packing interests, by the International Harvester Company and by the Link-Belt Company.

### Fight For It

"The effect of this defenceless position of the worker upon industry and the life of the nation is manifest. Every man has a right to a living wage, a roof over his head, enough to eat and drink. If he hasn't these he has the human right to fight for it. If society will not let him fight for it, he is left to work and sweat

all his life, with nothing to look forward to, and perhaps the potter's grave at last. It is a terrible end to look forward to. To make sure that society's work will be done we bolster up these men with associated charities and public hospitals.

"We mean to substitute something else for that. The work of this War Labor Board, the end it is trying to achieve, stands for economic justice. The board has laid down certain principles on which labor and its employers will stand. During the war we need a continuous stream of production. There can be no gaps in it. There can be no ground for disagreement and discord. The war is the country's first object. You have read the report of the War Labor Conference Board, that there shall be no strikes or lockouts in war time, that workers shall have the right to organize, that there shall be no limitation by the workers on production, that living wages shall be paid and decent hours of employment fixed. This board is here to see that these just and equitable bases of industrial progress are observed through the country."

### A Hard Hitting One

He is a compact man, closely knit, without room for waste strength or energy. His face might be described contradictorily as an Irish face built on the Greek system. It is a rounding face, but seems gathered everywhere for economy of power. The nose takes every advantage of being a nose, but refuses to go any further than that. His eyes are not too deeply set, placed just at the proper depth to inspire confidence. Little lines of humor radiate from them. More energetic lines run down from the tip of the firm nostrils to the side of the mouth. And the mouth is firm and full, opening sometimes in conversation, which is vigorous, to disclose unostentatious rows of strong, regular teeth. The total impression is of a man built for hard hitting.

He has done lots of it. He could have been a Democratic Governor of Missouri, but preferred to stay outside of regularity and speak his mind. He began as a messenger boy, was a railroad clerk, became a stenographer, studied law, developed a large corporation practice, which he later discarded, and took part in some of the most interesting legal fights in Missouri.

He is emotional and has the rare gift of feeling intensely and thinning straight at the same time. When he talks he looks as if he meant every word of it.

If war has any effect on us it will be to disclose and develop others like him. Walsh is one of the signs of the time.

couragement, and some millions of money. We played the fool in 1915 and 1916, and the price will stagger humanity. If we have not already told Japan to go ahead full speed, and agreed to provide some money for her, then we are playing the fool now!

Must America always and eternally be too slow on the draw—always too late, always on the defensive, and always apologizing and explaining? It begins to look like it. Successful men hate those who are always full of long explanations for their failures.

The talk about "offending European Russia" makes me sick. Except the Huns, the Bolsheviks are the vilest scum of the earth, and the decent Russians of the West are utterly helpless to combat them. The greatest service that we can render all Russia is to help Japan to throw the Huns out of Russia, and thereby save to civilization and to Russia something out of the wreck.

If we are not all imbeciles we should be moving better the Huns get to Irkutsk and Vladivostok.

WILLIAM T. HORNADAY,  
Trustee American Defence Society.  
New York, June 18, 1918

## With the Enemy

THE New York Tribune Foreign Press Bureau  
SPEAKING before the Finance Committee of the Reichstag, Imperial Vice-Chancellor von Payer declared that the German government is about to create a special department which will direct Germany's affairs in relation to the eastern states bordering with Germany. Germany's object, he said, is to live in peace and friendship with those states, to raise their economic and intellectual conditions and to conduct their German colonization.

"The union of these neighboring states," von Payer stated, "will give us the necessary military security against Russia. In addition there is the national sympathy of the Germans which draws us toward them, especially toward the people in the Baltic provinces."

He maintained that the German intervention in Finland will give independence and freedom to the Finns and will put an end to the war declared on Finland by the Russians and the Finnish anarchists. "In freeing Finland," he said, "Germany does a great service to Sweden. The German Oriental policy tends to strengthen the most cordial relations between Germany and Sweden and Finland."

As to Estonia and Livonia, the German Vice-Chancellor repeats the views of Hertling, and continues: "The two states, with their relations with Russia completely broken off, will have to place at the head of their governments a popular representation based upon the broadest lines. But this is a domestic question of these countries. In regard to Lithuania, German objects were similar. Like the other eastern states, Lithuania will have an administration and a government of its own."

German conquests in the East have raised a great ambition for real thrones among the petty German princes. "Vorwärts" says:

"It is no secret that various German courts and petty courts have been in a state of the greatest excitement regarding the opportunities of obtaining a throne in the East, and agents are journeying in all directions to make propaganda for or against various families. If Prussia is enlarged something must also be found somewhere for Bavaria as well as for Saxony, Württemberg and others."

There are at the most six thrones to distribute, the journal comments, but there are twenty-two dynasties, and to guard against the "serious dangers to German unity" "Vorwärts" offers the suggestion that all the new thrones should be filled by Turkish princes.

A report that the Austrians are not going to make an offensive against Italy has reached the "Ostdeutsche Rundschau" and caused it great pain. It says:

"Through every street and every alley there rumbles the soul-deadening rumour that there is no further intention to attack Italy."

"Thank heaven, this idiotic twaddle has received its death blow in the words of Kaiser Wilhelm. Those words reawaken in us the duty to attack with all our might and to beat ruthlessly every enemy, no matter on what front."

Here is the reply of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" of Vienna:

"According to this, it is Austria-Hungary's duty to undertake the offensive simply because the German Kaiser desires it! 'What impudence!'

"Apart from this, however, let us in God's name calculate what bloody sacrifices such an offensive may entail in the existing circumstances."

"The women who lose their husbands, the mothers robbed of their sons, would never forget which was the party at whose bidding these sacrifices were made—the German Radical party."